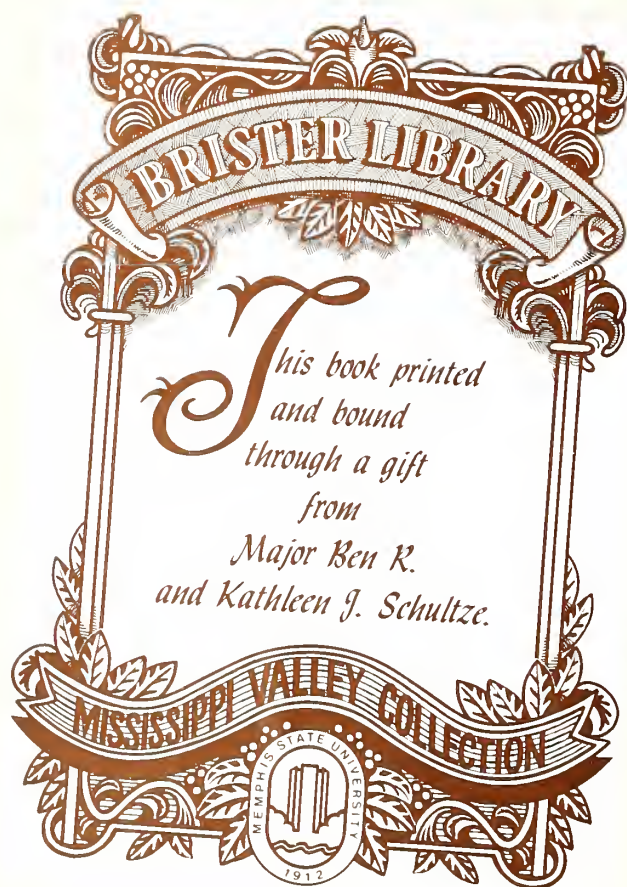


AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION
INTERVIEW WITH
DAN KUYKENDALL

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
TRANSCRIBER - FLORENCE TOWLES
ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE
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MAY 17, 1976

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

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PLACE Washington, D.C.

DATE May 17, 1976


(Interviewee)

Charles W. Crawford
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives
of the John Willard Brister Library
of Memphis State University)



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THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY.
THE PROJECT IS THE "ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION."
THE INTERVIEW IS WITH THE HONORABLE DAN KUYKENDALL. THE PLACE IS WASHINGTON, D.C. THE DATE IS MAY 17, 1976. THE INTERVIEW IS BY DR.CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE. TRANSCRIBED BY FLORENCE TOWLES. INTERVIEW # I.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Kuykendall, I suggest we start with a
brief biographical statement of your own.
Then we'll get on into your political connections and activities.

MR. KUYKENDALL: I was born in Texas, on a ranch in central
Texas in 1924. I graduated from Texas A
& M University in 1947 after a career in the Air Force in World War II
and went with the Proctor and Gamble Company. My career with that company lasted seventeen years, taking me from Texas to Memphis in 1955
where I was manager of Proctor and Gamble Company for the Mid-South
states. I got actively involved in politics in 1958, and most active
in 1960 in the first Nixon campaign where I organized and managed what
we knew then as blitz crews where we recruited special teams to work
our precincts that had not been worked by the regular organization. The
practice has become quite commonplace since then. In 1962 I was asked
while still manager of the Proctor and Gamble, to manage the effort of
the Republican Party in Shelby County [in the] first effort to run an

all-out full slate for all positions in the county and also to broaden the base of the Republican Party where it would be an acceptable party to virtually all the people.

We, at that time, recruited the first serious congressional candidate that the party had ever had in Shelby County. Robert B. James, who later became the dean of the Memphis City Council, ran for Congress against a long-time Congressman, Cliff Davis, in 1962 and pulled a near-upset getting 49 and 8/10 of the vote against the 22-year incumbent.

I managed this campaign and the campaign of the entire party. Shortly after that I was asked to run for United States Senate, which I did in 1964, the same year that Senator Howard Baker ran also for an unexpired term. He and I ran on the same ticket. He got 48.1% of the votes running against Ross Bass; for a two-year term, I got 47.5% of the votes running against Albert Gore for a six-year term. This fact that I ran in 1964 gives a little bit of background to some information which we will discuss later in Winfield Dunn's campaign.

I was elected to Congress in 1966 and served for eight years in the Congress of the United States. And I was defeated in 1974, primarily as a result of redistricting by the state legislature.

DR. CRAWFORD: Thank you, Mr. Kuykendall. Now in connection with this active political career, I know that you were involved in Republican activities in Shelby County, that you became acquainted with Dr. Winfield Dunn and that you had a major part in the very beginning of his political career. Would you, therefore, tell something about

the unique circumstances of the beginning of Winfield Dunn's political career?

MR. KUYKENDALL: It was assumed for several years after my 1964 race for the United States Senate that at which time we put together a very viable state-wide organization--that I would probably run for the United States Senate again in 1970--at which time I had been in the Congress for four years. And it was assumed that if I was the candidate for Congress in 1970 and that an East Tennessean would be the nominee for the governorship in 1970, hoping to take both seats.

However, in the summer of 1969, Congressman Bill Brock, who later became Senator Brock, decided that he was also interested in running for the United States Senate. We ran extensive polls which really added up to nothing except the fact that between us there would have been a serious and divisive primary. And each of us thought, obviously, that he could win, but the only thing that we were sure of was that if this took place we would probably lose in November. So in 1969 I chose to stay in the Congress and did not choose to run for the United State Senate which meant that with Senator Howard Baker already in the Senate, with Senator Bill Brock hopefully to be elected, that we would have two East Tennesseans in the United State Senate and would, therefore, almost certainly need a West Tennessean for the governor's candidacy. But this was about in October of 1969 and no one was forthcoming. So we were pretty blue about the circumstances, and on through the month of November and well

into December

Winfield Dunn, of course, had run for office in 1962 in our first all out effort and led the ticket even though we didn't elect anyone that year. He had led the ticket and was one of the most attractive candidates that we had ever had. He had been County Chairman when I was elected, most successfully and one of the real outstanding county chairmen that anyone had ever had.

In about the first of the year of 1970, late one afternoon, I was in Memphis and I called Dr. Dunn to see if I could see him in his office professionally late in the evening--this was about the only time I could ever work out a schedule and he too could get to see me professionally. And he said, "If you could come on over and let me talk first, I'll see you late tonight." This was about 9:00 at night.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember about the month or date?

MR. KUYKENDALL: This was in, I would say, very early January of. . . No, I would say, this was in late December of 1969. Now as soon as I say down, Winfield said, "Dan, what do you think about my running for governor?"

And I remember my exact response: "This is the first ray of sunshine we have had in months! I think it's a great idea." We immediately proceeded to lay out the ground rules that should be followed to decide whether or not Winfield Dunn was a viable candidate.

I have in front of me here a letter which I shall be very happy to

xerox and let you have a copy of which reviews this incident. Here's a little personal aside--Dr. Dunn had a charge account over at the Walgreen's Drug Store in Popular Plaza in Memphis. And after we had completed this conversation I said, "Winfield, can you get me a small portable TV set?"

And he said, "Yes, I'll send you the bill." So we went by after we completed the conversation, that we shall discuss, and bought me a small portable TV set, just about closing time. Also that explains the first sentence of the letter that I shall read to you.

He starts out and he uses this greeting to me every--til this day. I saw him last week. He starts out saying: "Hello, Congressman. Here's a dun from Dunn. Hope the TV set is working. If you have a chance, I would like to talk to you when you're in town next weekend. I'm getting a good response from my mailing which just went out this past Wednesday. I have written Ralph Millett to express my thanks to him. With Nat Winston definitely out, I feel I must get some real commitments in the very near future and the letter should begin to solidify my reality as a potential candidate."

Now what we had done was simply make a mailing to interested leaders around the entire state to get their, well to use the term, "gut reaction" about the possibility of a West Tennessean, named Winfield Dunn--totally unknown state wide--running for governor. There was enough response, primarily from what had been the frame-

work of our Senate organization in 1964, six years previous, to give Winfield the real hope of what it would take to win.

Ray Humphreys, that is spoken of in this letter, is a political analyst and one of my closest friends. He and I, along with Winfield, analyzed almost to the last detail in March of 1970, the circumstances that would have to be taken advantage of in order for him to be nominated. We, for instance, decided that he would have to be able to go into East Tennessee in the First, Second, and Third Districts and get 20% of the votes almost on his own charisma with some help from what was left from my old organization.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now, you mean this during the primary?

MR. KUYKENDALL: During the primary. See we are discussing primarily the primary because we knew once Winfield Dunn was nominated he would be elected. There wasn't any question in our minds. If we could get him nominated, he would be the next governor.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why were you so certain of that at this time, Mr. Kuykendall?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, because we knew that he would absolutely sweep Memphis and we knew that he would carry East Tennessee because he was Republican. And we knew that that combination could not be defeated. The arithmetic was there, clearly, simply, without any question. So we decided, as I said previously, that it would take 20% of the vote in East Tennessee, virtually no vote in

Middle Tennessee, and 80% of the vote in West Tennessee with the Shelby County primary reaching twice what it had ever been before.

Now later on in, I would say, May, one of the Memphis newspapers, I believe the Press Scimitar actually published our game plan. But it was so far fetched that this unknown could get 20% of the vote in East Tennessee against three outstanding candidates. You remember, the Speaker of the House, Chairman of the Board of Genesco, and the immediate past Republican State Chairman were the three people he was running against, certainly no soft touches any one of them!

And the very idea that anybody running in a five-way primary that could get 80% of the vote in Shelby County was considered out of the question. And certainly we could not double the previous high primary which had been, incidentally 19,700 votes. Not only did we make these projections which came out, incidently, to our getting 79,000 votes in the primary and winning. That's what we projected it would take in actual votes. We actually went down district by district as to those that we thought we would get.

Well, Winfield Dunn and a lot of our old organization did go into East Tennessee and in some of the areas that had not been worked hard previously like Jefferson County, Cocke County, Lenoir City in Loudon County, Washington County which we came in second, Knox County in which we came in second. But we carried three important counties in East Tennessee with Winfield Dunn just strictly based on the work of a few people and his own personal commitment.

Well, everyone decided that was running against Winfield in the primary, particularly Jarman and Jenkins, Well, that Shelby County vote is not going to be very big and we don't want to stir up the hornet's nest so we're just going to leave it alone.

The support of Winfield in Memphis became almost a hysteria. A person wouldn't dare even suggest at the bridge party that they were not going to vote in the Republican primary for Winfield Dunn. It was socially unacceptable not to be for Winfield Dunn. So come August, Winfield Dunn received 21% of the vote in East Tennessee which was a little bit higher than the 20% we projected.

But instead of getting 80% of the vote, he got 91.7% of the vote in Shelby County. And instead of doubling the vote to 40,000 we did 41,000 and something votes in Shelby County. Incidentally, he won with 81,000 votes. We had projected 79,000 votes. So the strategy was that we would concentrate on the First, Second, and Third Districts and West Tennessee. The strategy was that he would play for 20% of the votes in East Tennessee and 80% in West Tennessee. And the strategy was about as near fulfilled as anything could possibly be, and he was nominated. And Hooker could never lay a glove on him and I'm quoting Hooker himself by say that.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you guess the outcome so closely for the primary?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I had a high knowledge of the area. Our knowledge of what we could actually do. Our knowledge, for instance, in Memphis of who we could get to come out publicly to support Winfield in the primary. People like Henry Loeb, who

had never worked in a Republican primary before in his life, was strongly endorsing a man in the Republican primary. And even though he had never been a Republican before, this is an example of what we thought we could do and we did do--and that was to build up the idea of having a Memphian for the first time this century as governor. And this thing worked ! You say, "How do you make an educated guess?" Well, you put all the information you can into a computer called your brain and whatever comes out, you take that and then guess. In a way it was a guess, but it was a pretty closely educated guess.

DR. CRAWFORD: It was a very accurate guess. Who helped you in that estimate?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Louis Donelson, whom I consider probably [to have] the best political brain in the state, and Ray Humphreys, a consultant from here and Washington who was very familiar with Tennessee. And we used everyone's figures, of course. There were hundreds of phone calls made to different areas about what kind of acceptance could we expect, what kind of support could we get and so forth. Remember we did not have the organization put together at the time we made the estimates.

DR. CRAWFORD: No. That was not done until--well, it was still being done in May--at any rate.

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's correct. That's correct. However, most of our key people were on board by April.

And some of the fairly large counties in East Tennessee were swung by a small group of virtually unknown young people, like Cocke County.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you make use of any issues particularly?

MR. KUYKENDALL: No. There were no issues in the Republican primary.

DR. CRAWFORD: Except the personality of the candidates.

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's correct. This was the biggest thing.

He was a sure winner. He could charm the bees out of a hive. He was an extremely strong personal candidate. We knew that if there was any area of uncommitted in an area where he went to visit he would get them following him like the Pied Piper before he left. And this happened in place after place. See, we were second in Washington County, second in Knox County, first in Jefferson County, first in Cocke County, first in Loudon County. The only county in East Tennessee that we didn't do too well in at all was Hamilton County, the larger of the large counties.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why the weakness in Hamilton County?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Maxey Jarman just happened to be extremely strong there. He had a lot of personal following, people he had done business with and a lot of employees of his companies and so forth.

DR. CRAWFORD: How did you put your statewide list of supporters together?

MR. KUYKENDALL: It was based on my own personal knowledge of what I had done in 1964, and he began to compile his own list upon his visits. Because, as I said, he was strictly a Pied Piper type. He would go into an area with just a few followers and when he left he would have a bunch.

DR. CRAWFORD: I assume that you maintained your contacts in your files after your senatorial campaign?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Oh yes. Both the files and the fact that it is 12 years later, but I can pretty well tell you who the leaders in those individual counties were. A lot of the young ones have grown up since then, but at that time there hadn't been ever so many. It's been 12 years now, but it had only been six years then.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, you had a good deal to do with developing the party.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I traveled a great deal. You see, I traveled a lot throughout the state in making my decision not to run for the senate. So I had been around the whole state within the previous six months. A lot of people had been unhappy with me for pulling out of the race because they thought it killed our chances of electing a governor. A lot of people wanted me to give up my house seat to run for Governor, which I wouldn't do. So I was in a position to come back to them and say, "Okay, not only are we going to elect a governor, but we are going to elect it with a better candidate than me." "Here's what you wanted," going back to the people that

had fussed at me because I would not leave the Congress.

DR. CRAWFORD: So far as you know, had Winfield Dunn discussed this decision with anyone before this late meeting in his office with you?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, Winfield had virtually discussed this many times when it was assumed that I would run for the Senate and that he would take my Congressional seat. He had decided that. If there ever was an individually-made decision to seek this, it was made by Winfield Dunn. See, he did not ask my help in making the decision to run, in the sense of his desire, he only asked my help in viability. His mind was made up to run if he possibly could. My help was only in, can you be elected? Are you viable?

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you try polling other than your letter-writing?

MR. KUYKENDALL: No, you can't poll an unknown. You see, polling in Memphis was utterly meaningless because he would be the only one known. Polling in East Tennessee would have been meaningless because he would have been unknown. You have to decide with just gut reaction how many votes can we pull out of there.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, you had had some experience at that?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Oh yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: In Shelby County?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I had had considerable experience, of course, in working with precinct organization's

people throughout East Tennessee also.

DR. CRAWFORD: You didn't see the East Tennessee candidates, though, Jenkins and Robertson as being a major problem?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, yes we did because we frankly thought that Jenkins would run a strong second with Jarman a distant third. It ended up we were wrong there, with Jarman running a fairly strong second and Jenkins a fairly good third. We just felt so strongly that probably there wouldn't be much difference in the way any of the three would run in November in East Tennessee. We knew in our own minds that it would take a West Tennessean to carry West Tennessee strong enough to get elected in November. This is what we were so strong on. There were no issues in this campaign except who can get elected. Because we had four excellent men. Jarman and Jenkins were the two prime candidates. Claude Robertson had been Howard Baker's campaign manager and state chairman. He would have made an outstanding Congressman! We had four excellent men running.

DR. CRAWFORD: So that would have been part of what the primary was--a test as to which candidate was most electable.

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's right. And if we had had only one opponent, we could never have won. East Tennessee vote was split three ways--four ways counting Winfield. We knew if we got three or more people in that race we had a chance.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know why Bill Jenkins entered the race?

MR. KUYKENDALL: He had a reason to think that he would be elected Governor.

DR. CRAWFORD: Of course, it was apparent to you that his being in there with Claude Robertson would divide the vote in East Tennessee.

MR. KUYKENDALL: I just didn't dream that we could give anybody almost 40,000 votes--38,000 and something-- here in Shelby County.

DR. CRAWFORD: Perhaps hardly anyone dreamed that because that was a totally unprecedented thing.

MR. KUYKENDALL: We knew election night when the votes started coming in westward, we knew that when we hit the county line of Shelby that if we were running 17,000 votes or less behind that we would win it.

DR. CRAWFORD: For you had counted on making them up in Shelby County?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, that's right. That is almost exactly what ended up coming into Shelby County with 17,000 votes behind. Adn we ended up in Shelby County [with more] than we had anticipated. So we won slightly bigger than we originally anticipated.

DR. CARWFORD: But since the development of the party here in West Tennessee was fairly new, it was not taken into account by the other candidate. Not the same way at any rate?

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's right. Well, their arithmetic did not agree with ours. It wasn't a matter that they didn't know our strategy. Our strategy had been published in the papers.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, your arithmetic was based upon what you knew the party in West Tennessee could do.

But that was a fairly new thing, wasn't it?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Yes, this is correct. Frankly, if I had come in and said, "Okay, we'll do 26,000 in Shelby County." It would have been a lot more believable figure and they would have respected us more because of strategy and we might have lost. They didn't find my 40,000 a believable figure so they ignored it. I think if we would have used a 30,000 figure we might have been in trouble. We used a 40,000 figure and so that was ridiculous and so they didn't believe anything we said. It was like Hitler's Mein Kampf. He said what he was going to do in Germany and then did it. We said what we were going to do and we did it!

DR. CRAWFORD: What about the other aspects of the campaign?
Did you get involved in fund raising?

MR. KUYKENDALL: We got involved in everything. It was a shoe-string operation. Winfield Dunn didn't spend but 80,000 some odd dollars on the whole campaign for the primary state-wide.

DR. CRAWFORD: And your advertising was done out of Memphis?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Right.

DR. CRAWFORD: Ward Archer, fairly small scale, I believe?

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's true.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you feel the need for more money or were you operating all right.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Sure we did. You betcha we did! I remember we had a fund raiser one afternoon about in March. We had to raise, I believe, it was \$25,000 in that room that day--that day and during the next week--in order for Winfield to really be viable at all. And we raised it.

DR. CRAWFORD: How many people did you have present, approximately?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Oh about fifty. And there were more people than that that ended up giving money, but this was the moment of truth.

DR. CRAWFORD: Who did you rely on most for aid in the primary campaign?

MR. KUYKENDALL: What do you mean? What kind of aid?

DR. CRAWFORD: Who helped you most in terms of planning, organization, financing, advertising and any categories at all?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Virtually all the money came out of Shelby County.

DR. CRAWFORD: This is for the primary?

MR. KUYKENDALL: For the primary. The entire Republican organization plus the independent conservative Democrats of Shelby County were a massive organization. The state-wide

organization that worked closest to Winfield in the primary was a mixture of people he personally recruited--people who had been friendly to us after our '64 campaign or in a lot of cases friendly to Howard Baker in the '64 campaign.

DR. CRAWFORD: Bill Brock was just getting started on a state-wide basis?

MR. KUYKENDALL: That is correct and he was running his own campaign and there was never any conflict there. In fact, Bill Brock stayed religiously out of this primary.

DR. CRAWFORD: Now after the primary, what part did you play in the general election? You were fairly sure that he was going to win this one?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I became a member of a much larger advisory group then. Remember the basic campaign organization headquarters moved to Nashville.

DR. CRAWFORD: Changed advertising agencies.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Changed advertising agencies and so forth. Certainly, I guess I talked to Winfield every other day, but as I say, my particular personal expertise and help ceased to be one of a few and became one of many after the primary was won.

DR. CRAWFORD: You were conducting your own campaign that year?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Not really.

DR. CRAWFORD: I was going to ask how you had time to work that year?

MR. KUYKENDALL: (Laughter) Oh, I remember on election night about in November that year about 10 o'clock nobody looked at my race. (Laughter) My wife said, "By the way how are we coming out?" I think I got about 65% of the vote that year. That was still while I had my other district.

DR. CRAWFORD: What other aspects of the campaign do you think it would be well to cover?

MR. KUYKENDALL: I think the idea that is so much explored by the American people today and that is: What are the real traits you look for in a person to be a public office holder? Whether or not the person has to be experienced as an office holder what traits does he have to have? We had here, for example, a man whose education did not lend itself to public office. His background to a degree did, his father had been a Congressman and he had been very very active in the party structure. He understood politics-- understood how the party structure worked and understood how the whole matter of building on the independent structure worked.

He was not experienced as an executive. Those of us who were supporting him, I would say, if we gambled on anything that this is the place we gambled. And we certainly won because he proved to be an outstanding natural executive. This was the only area that I feel like that those of us that pushed Winfield the hardest took any chance was in the question of whether or not he was going to turn out to be the executive that we hoped he would be because he had never had an experience. He had been a professional man all his life and in business for himself.

So the man's basic personal integrity was the most important thing that we had going for us here. It definitely showed through in the cam-

campaign itself in a sense that the man he ran against had had--I don't want to imply that there was anything crooked or anything--but he had had some very unfortunate business experience and made a bunch of enemies because of it. And there was considerable amount of contrast here that could be made between the two--Winfield Dunn and John J. Hooker.

John J. Hooker is a personal friend of mine and I was on a plane with him a few months after the campaign. He commented, "You really nominated the wrong man as far as we were concerned because I couldn't lay a glove on him. I couldn't find anything really to crucify him with." A lot of times, the person that is choosing to go with an unknown with no scars as opposed with an old time professional that knows all the ropes but has scars all over him, there is something to be said for the unknown.

DR. CRAWFORD: That was certainly true in this case.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Yes, it was.

DR. CRAWFORD: It might have been different against a strong Democratic candidate. That is, one that did not have any handicap.

MR. KUYKENDALL: It may very well have, however, Winfield won very comfortably. I say very comfortably because he got one out of 60,000 or 70,000. I've forgotten exactly what. But I think the only person who could have given Winfield any trouble would have been a conservative West Tennessee Democrat. I doubt if that type person would have run as well maybe in Middle Tennessee as John J. Hooker did. Or would have done as well with the black vote as John J.

Hooker did. So the formulas were there and I think that '70 was the year for us to win if we had the right formula--and we had the right formula. I just don't think that anybody they would have nominated could have made that much difference. They would have had to switch 30,000 people.

DR. CRAWFORD: What do you think the implications for the future are of the Dunn election and the administration?

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I think everyone now realizes that whoever the Republican Party nominates for governor from now on, is likely to be elected or liable to be elected in November. That we do have a wide open two-party system. I think it is going to stir up the Democratic Party. Beginning in 1966 and clear up through 1972 the Republicans in Tennessee didn't suffer any set backs on anything. In 1974 we suffered several. I don't know what it is going to look like this year with Senator Brock up for election and with the presidency. However, I think the whole combination of 2 senators and a governor being elected means that neither side can ignore the other and we do have a two-party system and both sides are going to have to come up with better candidates if they are going to be elected.

DR. CRAWFORD: Historically, this was about the end of a century period when Tennessee was part of the Solid South, at least without much chance of success except for the East Tennessee Congressional Districts situation. After all, it has only been ten years now since Howard Baker was elected the first United States Senator

ever popularly elected in Tennessee [to be a Republican.] Now with two in office and one of them in a second term, Tennessee indeed does seem to have a two-party system.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, there is no question about that. The fact that we have had as many as five of these. We don't have but three right now, but I think that one of those will return. After the '80 census that could change somewhat.

DR. CRAWFORD: The major change seemed to be the development of the party in West Tennessee.

MR. KUYKENDALL: This is the entire key to it.

DR. CRAWFORD: That was the part in which you had worked since the late '50s?

MR. KUYKENDALL: That's right. You see the cosmopolitan makeup of Shelby County which constitutes 22% or 23% of the state's population--there again almost a fourth of the entire state in one county--and the fact that you have the extremes of voting in Shelby County between the black and white communities. Beginning in 1962 and clear up to this day the white community in Shelby County has voted overwhelmingly Republican in any statewide or national race that we have had except in 1968. Well, wait a minute. We have throughout, because in '68 we had the George Wallace factor thrown in there, in the white community Nixon would have carried it. But you see, the two-party system in Memphis really unfortunately became oriented to a race--not because of

a philosophy espoused by either side but because the Legislature unfortunately decided to use race as a matter of gerrymandering. This had created some unfortunate circumstances which are there to this day. I don't think we are going to see an end to it until the 1980 census.

DR. CRAWFORD: If then.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, I think what we will see after the 1980 census is a clear cut case of cutting Memphis into two parts. We'll almost certainly have one black Congressman and that is probably as it should be. But the very beginning in which Memphis was cut into three Congressional districts instead of two was most unfortunate. Because I think Memphis by the 1980 census will have almost exactly two full Congressional districts.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, Memphis alone in that case. . .

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well, Shelby County.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well Shelby County at any rate would proportionately deserve about two Congressmen unless the state population has grown that fast.

MR. KUYKENDALL: Well I don't think the state population is likely to grow anywhere as near that fast as Shelby County. I wish the rest of the state could get as much population instead of all being centered down there.

DR. CRAWFORD: What have we not included that you feel should be a part of the record, Mr.

Kuykendall?

MR. KUYKENDALL:

I think that covers it. I think you
have done a good job.





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